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USSR Report

HUMAN RESOURCES

(FOUO 4/82)



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EDUCATION

PROKOF'YEV DISCUSSES STATUS OF EDUCATION

Moscow SOVETSKAYA PEDAGOGIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 10-13

[Article by M.A. Prokof'yev: "A Teacher of the Society of Mature Socialism"]

[Text] Soviet teachers and all educational personnel have entered into a new five-year period armed with a precise and clear program of further development of the quality teaching and communist education of students contained in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The congress noted with satisfaction that the Soviet school reached an important landmark in the past five-year plan--it completed the transition to universal compulsory secondary education. But the requirements of society with respect to public education and the teacher are growing. "The main thing today," General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev noted in the report, "is to raise the quality of instruction, labor and moral training in the school, to eliminate formalism in evaluation of the results of the work of teachers of the students, to strengthen in practice the tie between education and life and to improve the preparation of school children for socially useful labor."

Further development of the general educational school at the present stage is firmly based on the achievements of the entire educational system attained in the years of the past five-year plan, the chief tasks of which were systematic implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congresses and the provisions of the new USSR Constitution on the development of universal compulsory secondary education, further improvement in the content of education and enhancing the role of the school in preparing young people for life and labor activity. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, 24 million teenagers completed the 8-year school and more than 20 million young men and women completed full secondary education. Practically all young people, choosing one or another direction in secondary education, continue to study following the 8th-year class. They are entering into the period of labor maturity, having behind them a basic general educational training. As before, a leading place in the obtaining of secondary education is occupied by secondary day general educational school. Ninth-year classes of general educational schools take in more than 62 percent as pupils of those who complete 8th-year classes of day school.

Secondary universal education... These words for us are customary, everyday. But how important is their political, economic and social meaning. The fact is

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that secondary universal education is the foundation of the country's "educational potential." This potential, as attested to by practice, plays a most important role in raising labor productivity and standards in industry, agriculture and all other sectors of the national economy. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of universal compulsory secondary education in the formation of a scientific outlook, ideological conviction, development of social and political activity by the youth and preparation of them for an active and creative life.

The 26th CPSU Congress set new tasks before the educational system. The role of the school in the formation of young generations must grow still further. In the words of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev addressed to educational personnel there is contained an entire program for our activity: to raise the quality of education and training and to bring them together even more closely into a single process for the formation of the individual inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, an individual ready for creative labor for the good of society; to achieve such an organization of the educational process that the foundations of the sciences dealing with society and nature become fundamental and profound for each schoolboy; to develop in students durable moral principles where word and deed are one, while the knowledge of studied laws is indissolubly connected with the practice of socialist construction; to bring up young citizens for whom selfless service to the Motherland is the highest aim and great happiness. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, there is to be consolidated the greatest achievement of the party and the Soviet people--granting to all rising generations real rights for obtaining a secondary education of a high scientific level. Estimates show that about 18 million people will obtain during this five-year period a complete secondary education at general educational schools.

The 8-year school is an important element in the solution of the task of universal secondary education. It feeds with its graduates both senior classes of secondary school and vocational-technical schools as well as to a significant degree secondary specialized educational institutions. During the current five-year plan, incomplete secondary education in day school will be obtained by about 20 million people of whom about one million will enter vocational-technical schools and 6.6 million persons--secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions. The 8-year school is directing increasingly large contingents of its graduates to vocational-technical schools and to secondary specialized educational institutions. It is right to orient young people to the selection of paths of vocational education--this to a significant degree signifies determination of the success in training of young workers and second-echelon specialists, that is, to solve the important state problem of labor reserves. The school of working youth is also not losing its importance; it is becoming for us to an increasing degree the senior centrum [kontsentr] of study. An interesting process is to be observed: in this school there is an increasing number of students aged over 25-30, who in the past had not received a complete secondary education. Round figure estimates show that we can expect in the current five-year period that about 6 million persons will complete the course of secondary education at evening (correspondence) schools.

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Several years ago, a mass-scale experiment was begun on teaching 6-year olds who are not included in preschool institutions. During the current year, 810,000 six-year olds have begun education. It is expected that this figure will have grown by the end of the five-year period. If the introduction of the educational program used in preparatory groups of kindergartens for school are taken into consideration, it could be expected that by 1985 a large part of the six-year olds will have obtained a certain amount of elementary knowledge and then it might be possible to think of teaching children beginning with six years of age in going on to the next five-year plan. Much work will be required to create an optimal teaching-educational process in the most initial part of education.

Much attention is paid in our country to the development of public forms of upbringing of children of preschool age. In the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the number of children in preschool institutions increased by 2.5 million persons. The state is not skimping on outlays: in 1981 more than 5.3 billion rubles were allocated for the maintenance of preschool institutions and about 1 million rubles on construction. A large army of pedagogs, exceeding 1 million persons, carries on educational work in kindergartens. The decisions of the party congress determine the target for expansion of this important form of assistance to families. During the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the number of children in preschool institutions will grow by 3.2 million and reach 16.6 million. The combination of family with public education creates objective preconditions for the most correct, all-round scientifically based education of children in their early period of life. The task is to realize these preconditions most fully and to show special concern for the health and development of each child.

Full-day attendance of school by children has received universal development in recent years. This comparatively new undertaking for the school is gradually being developed and improved. Many schools exist where nonspecific work is arranged interestingly: children have an additional possibility of physical and esthetic development; they can do home assignments at school and engage themselves in any task. During the current five-year period, there is planned an additional transition to a regime of semiboarding maintenance (extended day) for about 3 million children. By 1985, about 16 million school children, primarily of beginning classes, will be on a boarding and semiboarding regime. This will be of tremendous importance to the family, since parents will be provided with the possibility of working in peace in production. The actual scale of these measures attests to their colossal social significance. But much yet remains to be done for improving the upbringing of children. That large army of pedagogs, which selflessly works in schools and groups on an extended day basis and in various kinds of boarding institutions, should do a great deal of work on improving specific forms and methods of education of pupils.

During the current five-year plan, the importance of the qualitative aspect in the work of the school will especially grow in importance. Raising the level of general educational preparation of school children and of their perceived assimilation of fundamentals of the sciences is an object of special concern. Further improvement of the teaching and educational process on the bases of laws and principles based on pedagogic science is an unconditional requirement

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of any teaching collective. And this means that first of all the lesson must be improved. The school lesson, as it was emphasized in the decree of the party and the government on the school, remains the basis and well tested form of instruction and education of pupils. There has to be a deepening and further improvement of labor training of school children, the orientation of students primarily toward labor in the sphere of material production. Today the task is to raise the effectiveness of labor instruction, to orient the greater part of graduates of 8-year and full secondary schools to worker occupations, to subsequent training in vocational schools. Much must be done by the school and all pedagogic collectives in connection with the fulfillment of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Further Rise of the Mass Character of Physical Culture and Sports." Physical-culture study should be made into a need for every individual from early childhood age—this is the idea behind the given decree. It would be impossible to achieve harmonious development without a concern for one's physical condition.

At the dawn of the Soviet power, in June of 1918, V.I. Lenin, in presenting a speech at the 1st All-Russian Congress of Teachers-Internationalists, defined with precision and great perspective the role of the teacher in the new society. "The teachers' army," he said, "must set itself gigantic educational tasks, and first of all it must become the chief army of socialist education" ("Complete Collection of Works," Vol 36, p 420). V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party have always looked upon teaching as a most important channel of the ideas of the party to the masses. At the All-Russian Conference of Political Educational Committees of Guberniya and Uyezd Departments of Public Education held in November 1920, the leader of the revolution set a concrete task: "...to train a new army of pedagogic teaching personnel, which would be closely connected with the party, with its ideas and which would be permeated with its spirit...." ("Complete Collection of Works," p 41, p 403).

Several decades have passed since then. In this time, there became part of history the struggle with illiteracy, for universal elementary and then for incomplete secondary education. The people have reached a high level of culture and education. A developed socialist society has been built in the country. Knowledge in its true, objective sense has become a genuine inheritance of the Soviet people. Under these conditions, the role of the teacher has increased significantly and his tasks have become complex. He must not only master to perfection the arsenal of contemporary methods of teaching but also form in school children a high communist consciousness and prepare them for labor. The general educational school and its pedagogs encompass all the young generations in their influence. The success of the operation of the school predetermines to a significant degree the quality of operation of vocational and specialized educational institutions. The army of educational workers in our country has become the most numerous group of the Soviet intelligentsia. A high educational level and political qualities of fighters of the ideological front have created nationwide prestige for teachers.

In speaking at the All-Union Congress of Teachers (1968), L.I. Brezhnev emphasized: "In our country, the school teacher is one of the most honorable, most respected by the people professions... the work of the teacher is so valuable and wonderful because it actually molds the individual." The past five-year plan was characterized by a significant improvement in the qualitative makeup

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of pedagogic cadres. During this period there were sent to school more than half a million young teachers with higher education and almost 350,000 with secondary education. As a result, the educational level of Soviet teachers has grown. In recent years, special attention has been paid to providing rural schools with qualified pedagogic cadres. The great majority of young teachers, fulfilling their civil duty, work in rural schools, which has had a positive effect on raising in them the level of teaching and educational work. During the current five-year plan new hundreds of thousands of young specialists will go into the educational system.

The quality of teaching and education of the rising generations depends to a significant degree on the level of scientific-methodological and ideological-political training of teachers. Further improvement of theoretical ideological and professional training of pedagogic cadres is the object of special concern of public-education organs. In this sense, special mention should be made of the teachers' movement so that everyone would have a higher political education. This movement was born in Moscow and has become widespread in the country. Under the conditions of developed socialism, the content of teaching work and the very concept of "teacher" has become fuller and more capacious. This enrichment is connected with powerful social-political, economic and cultural processes of the vigorously developing Soviet society.

At the present stage of development of the general educational school, its training and educational functions have become significantly expanded. Today's teacher is essentially a first comer to the solution of a historic task--to provide young generations with a complete secondary education. The solution of this task naturally requires of the teacher that he be armed with the most modern and effective methods and techniques of work. In recent years, much has been done on improving the methodological arsenal of teachers. The Soviet school does not just help each student master the total of knowledge accumulated by mankind; it so organizes the work of a student that he relates his learning at each step to the common cause, to the work of creating a new society. The teacher of our day, on the call of the party and the wish of the Motherland, is to be found in the advance positions in the struggle for the hearts and minds of children. The tremendous progress of the material, cultural and spiritual life of Soviet society has created qualitatively new conditions which, on the one hand, have expanded the framework of the creative work of the teacher and, on the other, have made it possible to disclose in full degree all his potential possibilities as a creator, builder and sculptor of the young citizen of the Land of the Soviets.

Implementation of party policy in the field of school education is a matter of honor, a sacred duty of teachers. Soviet teachers with determined labor implement the policy of the party. The present-day Soviet teacher possesses all the necessary qualities for fruitful pedagogic activity, for the forming of an all-round developed personality. Only that teacher can stay at the level of contemporary high demands who, as Lev Tolstoy said, will not remain stationary in knowledge, but will possess a unique flexibility while not ceasing to educate himself. For our teacher, all the necessary conditions have been created for his growth, creative reinterpretation of the theory and practice of Soviet pedagogy.

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What is he like, this Soviet teacher of the developed socialist society? The scientific foundation of all his multifaceted activity is Marxist-Leninist theory. A high level of political education, a deep and systematic comprehension of revolutionary theory have become an inherent requirement of teachers. A teacher possessing a knowledge of scientific communism is a determined fighter for the cause of Lenin's party. He cannot be an indifferent witness of the events of our day, when an ideological struggle is intensified in the international arena. The development of this process is connected with the strengthening of international positions and prestige of real socialism and the further sweep of the antiimperialist movement. Today, an uncompromising battle is going on throughout all the world for the minds of youth. The chief front of the struggle between capitalism and socialism lies in the field of philosophy, in the field of formation of moral ideals and values.

The Communist Party directs teachers to see to it that in the steadily growing educational potential of the Soviet people a special place is occupied by the scientific world outlook, knowledge of the nature of Marxist-Leninist theory and laws of historical development. It is namely this that makes it possible to establish in the minds of youth an understanding of the establishment of real socialism and its historical advantages over the world of capitalism. A permanent, professional feature of the personality of the teacher has been, is and will be his sincere attachment and love for children. Under our Soviet conditions this attachment and love is animated by high ideals in the name of the achievement for which the Soviet teacher works. The teacher of the society of developed socialism is distinguished by a broad outlook, thorough professional competence and the ability to organize a children's collective, to finely observe and study the special features of children with the aim of making maximum use of the possibilities of the personality of the school children. Thus, as N.K. Krupskaya said, the teacher "will be able to invest book knowledge with living flesh and blood," and will make the fusion of science and life a powerful means for the transformation of reality and teach children to assume an active position in life.

The Motherland highly values the labor of teachers. During the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, more than 20,000 teachers and other educational personnel were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union. The high title of Hero of Socialist Labor was awarded to 46 persons. For special services in teaching and communist training of students, 29 teachers received the title People's Teacher of the USSR. In the same period, the title of Honored Teacher was conferred on 5,000 persons in the republics. According to certification totals, the titles Teacher Methodologist and Senior Teacher were awarded to 11,239 persons. Medals named after outstanding pedagogues N.K. Krupskaya, K.D. Ushinskiy, A.S. Makarenko, Kara-Niyazov, Ya.S. Gogebashvili and Kh. Abovyan grace the chests of more than 3,000 teachers. Many teachers have received other rewards. The high prestige of the teacher is characterized by such a noteworthy fact: there are 111,064 teachers among the deputies of soviets of people's deputies, including 100 deputies--educational personnel--to USSR and republic supreme soviets.

The teachers of Moscow and the capital oblast are making a significant contribution to improvement of the system of education. Here a movement has been

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launched for exemplary schools. Today already 30 schools have earned the title of exemplary. A socialist competition has been started with the motto "For the exemplary communist city—exemplary schools." Many valuable initiatives have been born among Moscow's teachers. The concentration of all conditions on the most pertinent questions on the basis of a thoroughly thought out complex plan of teaching and educational work makes it possible to approach management of the process of formation of the personality at School No 74 in Gagarinskiy Rayon where the director is A.V. Tsvetkova. The pedagogic collective is working on the selection of forms and methods of nonspecific educational work; wide use is made of talks, disputes and conferences for this. Here they determinedly strive to see to it that for each pupil a subject is found and proposed to his liking and individual inclinations, abilities and know-how are taken into account. Most seniors when it comes to social-political subjects have a deep and lasting knowledge and are able to utilize in practice studied theoretical positions. In practice each pupil of the school completes a social task.

L.L. Osipova, a female teacher of literature at School No 190 in Cheremushkinskiy Rayon of Moscow—works interestingly. With the resources of her subject, she inculcates ~~Cadkov's~~ hatred of the petty bourgeois way of life and forms Gor'kiy's dream of the wonderful man of revolutionary spirit. If any literature lesson does not evoke emotions, thoughts, if it does not lead to arguments that are frank and open, then it is a bad lesson. This is how this teacher thinks—she does everything possible to see to it that the literature course maximally promotes the moral forming of the young person.

N.I. Demidenkov works at Ramenskaya Secondary School in Shakhovskiy Rayon of Moscow Oblast. Nikolay Ivanovich was born in Shakhovskiy Rayon, completed rural schools and the pedagogic institute and returned to his native village. He does not merely give labor lessons, but firmly forms in his pupils such feelings and concepts which become the source of manifestation in each of them of love for the Motherland and home area and a feeling of citizenship and deep patriotism. In 5 years, 113 of his graduates have been granted rights of tractor operator and machinist and of these 69 have stayed on to work at their local kolkhoz. At rayon and oblast competitions of young plowmen, the pupils of Nikolay Ivanovich inevitably take prize places. Teacher N.I. Demidenkov generously shares his experience with his colleagues and is the director of the rayon methodological association.

Among the remarkable masters of pedagogic work, we with full right include Moscow representatives—V.D. Sidorova, a history teacher of School No 620 of Volgogradskiy Rayon, O.I. Koloskova, a mathematics teacher at School No 59 of Tushinskiy Rayon, N.I. Galaktionova, a teacher of elementary classes at School No 904 of Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon, A.I. Ivanov, a teacher of history at Vozrozhdenicheskaya School of Kolomenskiy Rayon of Moscow Oblast, L.N. Vasil'yeva, a chemistry teacher at Medvezh'ye-Ozerskaya Secondary School of Shchelkovskiy Rayon, Deputy of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet N.N. Zakharova, director of Nikonovskaya Secondary School of Ramenskiy Rayon and many others. In the front ranks of our teachers, who give all their energies, knowledge and ability to the cause of teaching and communist upbringing of the rising generation, there stand thousands of teachers, who adorn the Soviet school and multiply its achievements as the most democratic, accessible and humane in world practice.

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The successes of the Soviet school are first and foremost due to party guidance. In the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and in the works of L.I. Brezhnev, personnel of the Soviet educational system find both inspiring ideas and plans of concrete action. Party committees devote constantly growing attention to the cause of education. The school would have been unable to solve many of its problems if it did not depend on the assistance of operational organs, trade-union and komsomol organizations, parents and the public; thousands upon thousands of people, enriched with life experience, take part in school affairs. Teachers and the public educational personnel of our country, as all the Soviet people, inspired by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, persistently and determinedly work on the implementation of the party's plans, and there is no doubt that they are fulfilling with honor set tasks in the name of the triumph of mankind's bright future--communism!

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EDUCATION

PROBLEM OF INTERACTION OF FAMILY, CULTURE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA PEDAGOGIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 14-19

[Article by A.G. Kharchev: "The Family and Culture"]

[Text] The problem of interaction of family and culture has two equally important aspects: the importance of spiritual culture in the development of family marriage relations and the role of the family in the transmission of cultural values to new generations and consequently in the reproduction and enrichment of these values. For the two types of culture prevailing in the contemporary world--socialist and bourgeois--there correspond two qualitatively different types of family. In family marriage relations characteristic of the contemporary development of Soviet society, the possibilities of mature socialism are realized far from fully. The development of these relations reflects both the successes and the tremendous difficulties of building communism in our country. Considerable damage to the Soviet family was inflicted in particular by the consequences of the war, the large losses of the male population, tremendous destruction of housing and economic difficulties. The inertia of individual consciousness and its lag behind being are most strongly manifested in the personal life of people; it is less accessible than other spheres of human activity to social regulation and control.

At the same time, bourgeois society in the highly developed capitalist countries has fully realized those changes in interrelations between man and woman which follow from its nature. The chief result of these changes is the weakening of the influence of cultural norms on intimate life, utilization of the motives of respect and marriage, cheapening of the main social function of the family--upbringing of children. This process is reflected in the slogans of contemporary feminism--bourgeois-ultraleft reaction to capitalist discrimination of women. A well-known American feminist, Ellen Peck, energetically propagandizes, for example, a "movement of nonparents," that is intended in her words to free the woman from the "most cardinal source of her inequality"--children. Such moods are manifested in attempts to consider professional activity as a kind of antithesis to maternity, as a more important form of its social activity for society and women.

The bourgeois alienation of relations between the sexes finds expression in the so-called sexual revolution, propagandized in ultraleft literature as a "modern alternative" to the traditional family, a radical expression of

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"freedom of the individual." The "sexual revolution" is a typical example of ideological mimicry.

As K. Marx wrote, "the animal is naturally identical with his life activity.... Man makes his own life activity an object of his will and his consciousness. His life activity is a conscious one" (Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Iz rannikh proizvedeniy" [From Early Works], Moscow, 1956, p 565). Consequently, the well-known expression "he behaves like an animal" has only metaphoric meaning. Human behavior, right to the satisfaction of his natural vital needs, is conditioned by social factors. In nature there is nothing base, as everything in it is natural. Violation of the natural is only possible to man. And no matter how vile a human act may be, behind it, in the final analysis, these or those social circumstances are to be found. On the other hand, there is nothing in human behavior which directly stems from material production in whose conditions the individual lives and develops. Everything is mediated by the consciousness and is connected through the type of culture to production relations. Private ownership of the means of production is not simply extrapolated for the relations of the sexes, as theoreticians of "freedom of love" assume but directly influences these relations, forming a consumer psychology and absolutizing its role in motives of behavior.

The initiators of Marxism, criticizing attempts continuing today to associate this "freedom" with the communist movement, have qualified them as "vulgar," "crude" communism. Relations between man and woman reflect in their development not economic changes by themselves but social progress as a whole; consequently, it is possible to judge on the basis of these relations the character of spiritual culture and the level of moral maturity of society and man.

The alienation of relations of the sexes from outstanding moral traditions and from spiritual-esthetic principles is frequently justified by references to fashion. As a cultural phenomenon, fashion is the synthesis of social norm and the desire of the individual for self-expression and the self-affirmation of his individual tastes. Fashion stems from the ideas of society concerning human beauty, honor, dignity, manliness, womanliness. But influence is also exerted on it by elements of the mass psyche and the desire not to repeat that which has become a standard. "Grimaces of fashion" are most frequently displayed at this level.

Fashion is one of the laws of human behavior, a means of regulating certain relations among individuals. But there are spheres of human relations to which fashion is not subordinated. Among them are to be found the intimate relations between man and woman, maternity, paternity. A morally healthy person will never permit into this holy of holies "legislators" from the outside. Real love dictates to people its own logic of behavior. For this reason, fashion perverts and coarsens sexual behavior not by itself but in interaction with moral feelings and esthetic taste, with the inability for real love.

K. Marx wrote of the richness of the human psyche as a most important quality of social behavior, having in mind "such feelings which are capable of human enjoyment and which assert themselves as human essential forces" (Marx, K. and Engels, F., Ibidem, p 593). He included among them love, emphasizing that in distinction to instinct it has a spiritual, moral-esthetic character.

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The need for love is far from the equivalent of sexual need. It has its origin in the whole structure of the individual, his interest, sympathies, tastes and value orientations. The persistence and stability of these components make love constant, removing the difference between the conjugal state and marriage. Under the conditions of socialism, freedom of love is actually the equivalent of freedom of marriage and does not oppose responsibility but rather supports it.

The social changes carried out in our country have led to the rejection by young people of the system of values found in prerevolutionary Russia connected with relations between the sexes: subordination and submissiveness, identification of marriage with childbearing and the advantages of a spouse in matters connected with ownership and inheritance of private property. Among the motives determining relations, the forefront is occupied by such values of world moral culture inherited and developed by socialist humanism as love, fidelity, responsibility, honor and dignity of the individual. One of the chief values of socialist society is the family and the specific emotional atmosphere created by it. The data of a number of surveys of persons entering into marriage show that the decisive factor in the adoption of a decision on marriage is love and community of interests of the future married couple (see: Kharchev, A.G. and Matskovskiy, M.S., "Sovremennaya sem'ya i yeye problemy" [The Contemporary Family and its Problems], Moscow, 1978, p 87). The social value of the family is identified with its educational function, with the role of the family collective in the development of the individual.

According to the data of a survey encompassing about one thousand workers of industrial enterprises, sovkhozes and kolkhozes of Vladimirskaia Oblast, the educational effect of different social factors was named in the following order: (1) family; (2) school and mass information media; (3) public organizations, labor collectives, comrades and friends; (4) self-education; (5) literature and art. Preference for the family over other social factors was also provided by persons surveyed by staff workers of the sector of problems of communist education of the ISI [expansion unknown] of the USSR Academy of Sciences; these were students of VUZ's and of tekhnikums (1,669 replies were received). The persons surveyed usually relate a large part of their good points and defects to family upbringing. Such an assessment is an eloquent confirmation of the conclusion of Soviet scientists that the family is a necessary and deeply specific component of socialization of children. In this process, the child interacts at least with four groups of factors, each of which significantly affects the formation of its personality--influence of the social environment, activity, upbringing and self-education.

The family as an immediate social surrounding possesses maximal possibilities for gradual familiarization of children with social values and roles and the introduction of the child to the large and complex social world.

In a socialist society, the family's educational potential is significantly strengthened by the antagonism arising from private ownership between the personal and social interests and tendencies of "self-isolation of the family." In its most general form, this potential can be described as an aggregate of factors maximally favoring the establishment and development of the individual.

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The chief of them are: the specifically intimate, trusting character of the moral and psychological climate of the family; the presence in it not only of a "horizontal" but also of a "vertical" (with respect to age) contact that plays a decisive role in the intellectual development of children: the many-sidedness of its educational influence. One may agree with the conclusion of certain sociologists that in distinction to other (secondary) small social groups the family should be considered as a primary group. It influences the individual throughout his entire life, and this influence takes in all sides of his personality and life activity.

Activity as a component of the educational process is present in the family in the form of play and household labor. Play in the eyes of a child is identical with his life activity and is an effective pedagogic means of the development of the psyche, especially the emotions of children, and the inculcation in them of habits of the culture of behavior and their familiarization with elementary forms of labor. In the solution of the problem of labor education, it is necessary to take into consideration the difference between the urban and rural family. Rural children systematically participate according to their strength in the production process, particularly in the family's subsidiary farming, which evidently (this question has as yet not become a subject of scientific study) helps more than hinders their development. The separation of the urban family from the production process and the limitation of its connection with the public economy solely to the sphere of consumption create certain difficulties in family upbringing. Thus, under rural conditions cases are more rarely observed of infantilism and instances of teenager vandalism--a direct consequence of ignorance in terms of personal experience of the value of products of human labor. Consequently, the problem is more acute in the urban family: how for educational purposes to employ children in the performance of household functions, how to inculcate in them the taste for occupational activity, albeit in its more simple forms. Sociological studies show that in the solution of this problem certain families are only in the initial stage; parents even doubt the practicality of familiarizing children with any form of feasible labor. Thus, according to the data of a study carried out by the sector of social problems of family and mode of life of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in 1980 only 56 percent of Moscow schoolboys and 70 percent of schoolgirls have permanent household duties; the great majority of parents (92 percent) consider that teenagers should systematically take part in household labor, but far from everyone achieves the realization of this prescription. Only a little more than half of the surveyed schoolboys (57 percent) replied that they have agreed to give 4-5 hours a week of their free time for paid occupational labor (at the post office, at a store and so forth).

The desire to participate in such labor does not depend on the material position of the family, as one might expect, but on the labor activity of the schoolboy in work at home (a direct dependence). Youngsters of 15-17 years of age need money (even if only for entertainment), and their refusal of paid work can be qualified as a device for "seeking" money from parents, for "getting" it some other way. What does the idea of spread of paid labor of school children provide for education? "First, a schoolboy will feel that his labor is indeed useful. Second, even if it not be for long, let him stew in the worker's pot. And third, he will get a concrete lesson of a respectful

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attitude toward the labor ruble" (Aliyev, T.A., "Formirovaniye aktivnoy zhiznennoy pozitsii: opyt i aktual'nyye problemy npravstvennogo vospitaniya" [The Formation of an Active Life Position: Experience and Actual Problems of Moral Upbringing], Moscow, 1979, p 37).

Frequently, not without the influence of the parents, the attitude toward labor among school children in many cases is found to be selective: acknowledging "creative," "prestigious" occupations, they consider any other work to be somewhat degrading. This in point of fact bourgeois position even affects interpersonal relations in class and the selection of comrades for leisure hours. Evidently putting into operation reserves of the labor upbringing of school children requires a significant rise of the cultural level of a significant number of families, since there is not nor can there be a socialist culture without a respect for labor, "...no matter how dirty and difficult it might be...." (Lenin, V.I. "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collection of Works], Vol 41, p 318). The fact is that labor is a form of serving society, the cause of communism, a most durable tie connecting man with the society that has given rise to him and fostered him.

Labor activity is a most effective means of forming in man feelings of citizenship, responsibility--the first and chief element of all other social values--and initiative, without which he, in turn, is unable to develop the capacity for creativity and perception of life and the labor process of culture. For this reason only a really active participation in the affairs of the family and then school and the production collective ensures man's integration with society and his transformation into a socially active, creative individual. In a proper organization of the activity of the child lies the chief stimulus for enrichment of knowledge and the development and satisfaction of moral and esthetic requirements, that is, for self-education. Orientation toward self-education predetermines the relation of the child and youngster to educational efforts of the parents, their personal example, school study, mass information and propaganda.

The educational activity of the family, its purposeful influence on the child by its adult members constitute essentially only one component of a dynamic system affecting the forming personality. Social existence and spiritual values are apprehended by the child as a rule not directly but through the prism of family relations, prescriptions, orientations and way of life of the family. Depending on the psychological climate, this influence can be "broken down" into the verbal and real level, collisions between which sharply reduce the effectiveness of upbringing even in socially happy families, not to speak of disorganized ones. Such collisions could include not only contradiction between statement and action, word and deed, but even the presence of "forbidden zones" in actual dealings among members of the family, which forces the child to look for other sources of information.

Such prohibitions can be the consequences or realization by people of their incompetence with respect to these or those questions or a lack of correspondence of certain aspects of family life with a moral (or sometimes even a legal) norm or a fallacious pedagogic idea of what a child should or should not know. Particularly widespread--and in this sense pedagogically pertinent--is the last named circumstance. The accelerated development of children is a fact

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that is not only physiological but also psychological. The accessibility for children of the most diverse information stimulates their intellectual maturation, which also means the need for knowledge. In regard to children there is often observed a reverse tendency: the latest are too long considered little for the purpose of knowing more about life than the parents themselves knew at the same age. Moreover, the older generation usually somewhat partially assesses its own ignorance; actual incorrectness is to be found in the given comparison.

The most impressive and saturating information is visual. The pretelevision generations of children differ significantly from the present generation: their visual knowledge of the world was incomparably more limited and the effect of a lag in explanation and comprehension of ever new impressions reaching the awareness of the child was manifested less acutely. At the present time, the role of the family is growing as the authority explaining and adding to the information already received by the child. And it should be said outright here that silence here would be more harmful than any confidential candor.

Any information strives, as it were, for consummation. If a family does not reward this striving and does not use it in the interest of education, the child, especially in the adolescent period, looks for and finds other groups for exchange of perception and comprehension of life experience. A significantly greater interest in such mutual perception and comprehension exists than in adults---this is one of the features of children's and adolescents' understanding of life and culture. The effectiveness of both family and school education depends to a significant degree on how accessible to social regulation and control such an important element as informal contacts is in mediating the connection of the child to the cultural values of society.

With respect to informal groups, the understanding of social regulation and control acquires an especially specific meaning. It is a question of maximal use of the leisure time of youngsters in the interest of education, of organization of children's clubs and wider involvement of the public in work with children where they live. To prevent such work possessing the character of a brief campaign, it should be directed by staff pedagog-organizers.

The realization of the social possibilities of informal contacts acquires a special immediacy in connection with the weakening--from intensification of the process of urbanization--of the system of external, visual public control and also because of growth of divorces and consequently because of an increase in the number of children with respect to whom the educational potential of the family is realized far from completely. But we are far from the thought that informal contacts of children, even with the best possible organization of them, can compensate for the losses which our society bears because of the growth of the wave of divorces. The more science knows of the tremendous and deeply specific possibilities of the family as a factor in the formation and development of the personality, the larger do these losses appear. School education, which formerly had a decisive significance in "spiritual production," has today been transformed into only one of its aspects. These changes increase still more the influence of the family on the cultural development of the individual, as it is here in particular that a foundation is laid for those feelings, value orientations, ideas, which then begin to fulfill the functions of criteria of

selection of information and of preference of some of these forms and sources to others and so on.

Family upbringing has a most broad and practically all-encompassing range; it is not reduced to didactic suggestion but includes all forms of influence on the forming personality: contacts and direct cognition, labor and the personal example of those around him, evaluation of real behavior, reward and punishment. It can be said that the development of the child is organically written into the life activity of the family. This educational activity is distinguished by maximum diversity and includes familiarization with culture through television, radio, press, books and the like. Such perception is mediated by the psychological atmosphere of the family group; it is connected with the desire for community of reaction, for exchange of opinions.

In this manner culture is assimilated by members of the family, especially by children of the youngest age, through the prism of already existent family traditions. This is why the ideological-educational activity of society must be oriented not only toward the individual but toward the family as a whole. Realization of the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress, aimed at further raising the well-being and culture of the people and at strengthening of the family, will increase still more its role in the solution of both economic-demographic and cultural-ideological tasks today facing Soviet society.

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EDUCATION

PERFECTING ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN RSFSR NONCHERNOZEM ZONE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA PEDAGOGIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 54-57

[Article by V.G. Aromatov]

[Text] The improvement of the organization and planning of public education is a continuous process that is conditioned to a significant degree by social-economic demographic, cultural and pedagogic organizational factors. The extent of influence of each of them depends on the total aggregate of local conditions. For the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR (a territory of 2,824,000 square kilometers), its specific character is determined by: shallow contours and dispersion of fields; presence of acidic and water-logged soils with a small content of nutritive substances; insufficient concentration and specialization of agricultural production; existence of a large number of small residential centers and their dispersion. Overcoming of the lag of agricultural production made necessary the development of a complex program that was formulated in a decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Further development of Agriculture of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR" (1974). The decree specified three ways for the realization of this program for the period to 1990: complex land improvement, specialization and concentration of agricultural production, improvement of rural social-everyday and cultural construction. Eventually, cardinal changes are expected in the economy and allocation of the region's inhabitants, including a significant reorganization of the economy as a whole.

Fulfillment of the program of agricultural development of the Nonchernozem Zone requires a significant rise in the general educational and vocational level of rural workers. An important role in this belongs to educational institutions called upon to carry out universal obligatory secondary education, especially in rural general educational schools. An analysis of the present state of the school network in rural areas of the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone showed that it is constantly being improved, but as yet there has been no qualitative change. Despite the fact that the total number of rural schools is not being reduced, they still remain small, and this inevitably results in a number of serious consequences: it is responsible, on the one hand, for a lowering of the quality of knowledge of the students and, on the other, for the retention of a relatively high level of expenditures for the obtaining of an education. Such a situation must be overcome on the basis of a reorganization of the zone's economy and improvement of organization of public education

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in the next 15 years. Experience, however, shows that the solution of this problem would be practically impossible solely through the improvement of the network of general educational schools; the further rise of the country's national economy outlined by the party and the government is most closely connected with the question of all young people obtaining an obligatory secondary education. For this reason, a most important problem at the present time is continued improvement of the network of both rural general educational schools and other educational institutions (vocational-technical schools, tekhnikums) under the conditions of a reorganization of the economy of the Nonchernozem Zone. For this purpose, regionalization of this territory into three subzones was carried out, the basis of this being natural-geographic, economic, demographic, national and pedagogic organizational factors.

The first subzone includes: Chuvashskaya ASSR, Moscow, Leningrad, Bryanskaya, Vladimirskaya, Gor'kovskaya, Ivanovskaya, Kaliningradskaya, Permskaya, Tul'skaya and Yaroslavskaya oblasts, the territory of which comprises 25 percent of the Nonchernozem Zone (706,000 square kilometers). There has come into being here a multisectorial economic complex with stable specialization. The subzone is distinguished by a high level of industrialization; about 60 percent of all persons engaged in the sphere of material production in it belong to industry. In agriculture, animal husbandry prevails. In farming, potato growing and fruit growing are the most developed. This subzone is characterized by high density of the population--two-thirds of the zone's entire population live in it. It is also characterized by intensive development and settlement of the land, rapid concentration of rural inhabitants in central settlements of kolkhozes and sovkhoses (the average size of a residential center in 1980 was 130 persons). The network of educational institutions is distinguished by big enrollment and good organization of pupil transportation. Thus during the 1979/80 school year, the average enrollment of rural general educational schools in this group of districts was: elementary school--18, 8-year school--130, secondary school--355 pupils. For 98.2 percent of the school children living at a distance of more than 3 km from school, regular transportation has been organized. It is the prevailing form of providing accessibility to school for the territory. The average enrollment of vocational-technical schools was 680 pupils, rural vocational-technical schools--400 persons, secondary specialized institutions--1,120 persons and rural tekhnikums--990 pupils.

The second subzone includes: Mariyskaya, Mordovskaya and Udmurtskaya ASSR, Kaluzhskaya, Kalininskaya, Smolenskaya, Pskovskaya, Novgorodskaya, Vologodskaya, Kostromskaya, Kirovskaya, Orlovskaya, Ryazanskaya and Sverdlovskaya oblasts. Industry plays a smaller role in the economic complex of this subzone than in the first subzone. Its share of the total number of workers employed in the sphere of material production does not exceed two-fifths of the indicated subzone. Agriculture is of a sectorial character, but without clearly expressed specialization and concentration of agricultural production. This subzone is characterized by somewhat larger territory (724,000 square kilometers) than the first and but 2.3-fold smaller population size (average size of a populated place in 1980 was 110-115 persons). It is characterized by moderate development and settlement of the land. Small schools predominate here with an average enrollment which in the 1979/80 school year was in elementary school--13, 8-year school--110 and secondary school--325 pupils. The

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average enrollment of vocational-technical schools is 434 pupils, rural vocational schools--360 individuals, secondary specialized educational institutions--830 persons, agricultural tekhnikums--800 pupils. A weak link in the school network is the existence of small elementary and 8-year schools and in the network of vocational-technical schools--vocational-technical schools that do not provide a secondary education. The chief form of access to school in the territory is organized transportation of pupils and preschool boarding schools arrangements.

The third subzone includes: Karel'skaya and Komi ASSR, Arkhangel'skaya and Murmanskaya oblasts; their territories make up about half of the entire area of the zone (about 1,400,000 square kilometers). The chief direction of development of the productive forces of this subzone is development of natural wealth: mineral-raw material, fuel-power, forest and water. Growth possibilities and agricultural development are limited because of severe, unfavorable natural-climatic conditions. This subzone is characterized by slow settlement and considerable migration and movement of the population and its low density. The population is mainly concentrated in the larger populated places (the average size of a populated place in 1980 was 200 persons). For this reason the network of educational institutions is distinguished from the first two subzones by a larger enrollment of rural general educational schools and inadequate development of secondary educational institutions. The average enrollment of rural schools during the 1979/80 school year was: elementary school--19, 8-year school--155 and secondary--434 pupils. The chief form of school access in the territory is preschool boarding schools. The average enrollment of vocational-technical schools was 120 persons, rural vocational-technical schools--310, secondary specialized educational institutions--980 and rural tekhnikums--780 pupils. A differentiated approach is required for the organization of public education and long-term planning of the school network and other educational institutions depending on the special features of the subzones and individual areas.

One of the directions of improving the organization of public education in the rural localities of the Nonchernozem Zone is development of a network of schools of the optimal type and the establishment for them of the most pedagogically advantageous structures. The researches of school specialists (V.M. Dmitriyev, M.I. Kondakov, A.M. Novikov, V.S. Selivanov and others) have established that that structure of the general educational school is optimal which makes it possible to correctly place pedagogic cadres and to provide an established educational-training load for all pupils and the scientific organization of their labor; it contributes to the achievement of the best organization of the pedagogic process and its high results as well as the improvement of the economic indicators of school education. With the present teaching plan and with the class-lesson system of organization of the teaching process and prescribed class enrollment, optimal school structures should be considered three-complement [trekhkomplektnyye] elementary schools, 8-year and secondary schools in a composition of three parallels 4th-8th, 4th-10th(11th)-year classes and three or more 1st-3rd-year classes.

The rural secondary general educational school has assumed a solid place in the system of functioning types of general educational schools. Their network

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in the Nonchernozem Zone in comparison to other types of general educational schools is quantitatively not large--15.1 percent, but the quantity of pupils in them comprises 53.9 percent (by our calculations). The optimality of the secondary school is determined by its big role in the social development of the countryside. The secondary school promotes growth of the educational level and culture of the rural population. It exerts a significant influence on the activity of libraries and mass educational work of rural clubs and does consultation work with the adult population in regard to raising its general educational level. The secondary school contributes to the economic development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. More than half of the rural secondary schools of the Nonchernozem Zone already train pupils of 9th-10th-year classes as qualified machine-operator workers, animal-husbandry workers and field workers. At the same time, in elucidating the causes of migration of young people from rural localities, for example, in Penovskiy Rayon of Kalininskaya Oblast, it was established that one of them is to be found in the absence of secondary schools for a large part of the territory of the rayon (there are only two secondary schools for the entire rayon). For this reason, the main portion of the graduates of 8-year schools, in order to continue its education, is obliged to go to different educational institutions providing secondary education, but located outside the limits of the rayon and even the oblast, and, as a rule, they do not return home. Consequently, the development of secondary schools in rural localities will contribute to keeping the young people at kolkhozes and sovkhozes by providing them with the opportunity of obtaining their secondary education here.

The optimality of the secondary school is also determined by the fact that it meets to the greatest possible degree the objects of improving the organization and developing universal compulsory secondary education of the youth and contributing to sound and planned curtailment of small elementary and 8-year schools. But on the basis of location of the population in connection with the new economic and organizational planning of productive forces, we came to the conclusion that in the forecast period (to 1990) elementary schools in the Nonchernozem Zone will retain their place in the system of public education (in this connection it is expected that their structure will be improved). Calculations showed that it would be advisable to plan for all the economic-geographic subzones (in accordance with the size of school contingents) intersovkhoz-kolkhoz secondary general educational schools. As for the permissibility of nonoptimal types and structures of general educational schools for the subzones, research shows that in the first subzone, on the basis of the character of distribution of the population and number of inhabitants in settlements, it is necessary to plan in addition to optimal schools two-complement elementary schools, 8-year and secondary schools in a makeup of two parallels of 4th-8th-year, 4th-9th(11th)-year classes. In the second subzone, in addition to optimal schools, there would be permissible one-and-a-half complement elementary schools and secondary schools without parallels of 4th-8th-year classes with two parallels of 9th-10th(11th)-year classes. In view of the demographic conditions, it would be inadvisable to plan 8-year schools in this subzone. It would be possible to have in the third subzone three-complement schools, 8-year schools with two parallels of 4th-8th-year classes and secondary schools with two-three parallels of 4th-8th-year classes and two parallels of 9th-10th(11th)-year classes.

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A most important condition of perfecting the organization of public education is assurance of accessibility of general educational schools in the territory. The state has established a radius of walking accessibility of 3 km for rayons of elementary schools. For rayons of 8-year and secondary schools, no official decision on radius exists and school accessibility for pupils in the territory is provided by school regionalization, free rides of pupils of rural localities to school and from school and well-provided dormitories attached to schools ("Osnovy zakonodatel'stva Soyuza SSR i soyuznykh respublik o narodnom obrazovanii" [Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Public Education], Moscow, 1973, p 21). School boarding facilities now occupy a lasting place in the solution of this problem. But, as shown by practice, this form of provision of school accessibility in the territory has to be improved and developed on the basis of the local conditions of each economic-geographic region. It would be advisable to improve model plans of buildings of school dormitories and to bring the planning and reserves of buildings into accord with the number of pupils and needs of their mode of life. Of important significance to providing accessibility in the territory is organized transportation of pupils from home to school and back again. Economists have calculated that with the establishment in 1965 of free transportation of pupils of rural localities to school and back again, an annual saving of state funds of up to 20 million rubles has been achieved for the RSFSR (Basov, V., "Certain Questions of the Economics of Public Education," FINANSY SSSR, No 5, 1967, pp 15-19), inasmuch as transportation makes it possible to reduce a significant number of nonpromising elementary schools. Comparable data were obtained in Kalininskaya Oblast --for the rayons of Goritskaya and Il'inskaya rural secondary schools.

We made an attempt to establish the optimal norm of accessibility of general educational schools in the Nonchernozem Zone of the Russian Federation. For the study, we took one rayon apiece with different density of population of the zone, determining in them the radius of walking accessibility of the schools. In this connection, we took into consideration the condition and importance of roads, organization of availability to the schools of special motor transport directly at the disposal of the school or other organization and, on the basis of a formula developed by V.A. Zhamin, calculated the time of moving the school children from home to school and back again (see: Zhamin, V.A., "Optimizatsiya razmeshcheniya seti obshcheobrazovatel'nykh shkol" [Optimization of the Distribution of the Network of General Educational Schools], Moscow, 1975, p 100). Calculations showed that the time of motor transport accessibility of schools in rural localities of the Nonchernozem Zone is on the average equal to 40 minutes.

An important direction in perfecting the organization of public education in rural localities of the Nonchernozem Zone is strengthening and development of secondary general educational evening (shift) and correspondence schools. In 1980, more than one million workers of the Nonchernozem Zone studied in them. But contingents of these types of schools have far from been exhausted. Calculations show that in all of the rayons of the Nonchernozem Zone a considerable number of young men and women do not have a secondary education. For example, in Kimrskiy, Kashinskiy, Kalyazinskiy, Sonkovskiy, Krasnokholmskiy and Penovskiy rayons of Kalininskaya Oblast 8-10 percent of rural working youth of up to 20 years of age do not have a secondary education. Study of

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this problem shows organizational pedagogic reasons primarily lie at the basis of negative features in the operation of evening (shift) general educational schools. The fact is that existing conditions of operation of evening (shift) schools with compulsory attendance of classes 4-5 times a week do not take into account the real possibilities of working youth. In rural localities, education of the youth is hindered by the remoteness of evening (shift) schools from place of residence for a significant portion of the students, a shortage of evening classes at day schools, lack of development of correspondence schools and education consultation centers and also the seasonal character of the labor of workers of agricultural production who study. For the purpose of improving the education of working youth at evening (shift) and correspondence schools and overcoming existing difficulties, it is first of all necessary to create optimal organizational conditions of study, which would maximally take into consideration the interests and possibilities of the students, the specific character of their production activity, living conditions and the budgeting of their spare time. The network of intramural and correspondence education of the working youth must be oriented toward maximal proximity of correspondence and evening schools to enterprises and a combination of study of the fundamentals of the sciences with improvement of qualifications.

A study of this problem permits making the following conclusions. In the first subzone, which has a rather high density of population--an average of 46 persons per square kilometer (the calculations were made without taking Moscow Oblast into account, inasmuch as it has a very high density of population), it would be advisable to plan evening (shift) schools on the base of several kolkhoses and sovkhoses. It is essential to have in each rayon a correspondence school with affiliates (education consultation centers) at each secondary general-educational school. In the second subzone, which has compared to the first a relatively low population density (23 persons per square kilometer), it would be advisable to plan per rayon one-two evening (shift) schools, a correspondence school with groups (of not less than 9 persons) and affiliates (education consultation centers) at each day secondary general educational school. In the third subzone, which has together with low population density (4 persons per square kilometer) large population places, it would be advisable to plan at each secondary day school classes and groups of working youth (of not less than 25 persons) with a correspondence form of study. There where no possibility exists for the creation of such classes and groups, it would be possible to have education consultation centers. At the same time, it should be emphasized that in accordance with the plan of development of public education in the USSR to 1990, evening (shift) schools must play the role of centers for the provision of assistance to young people not studying regularly following completion of secondary school and contribute to the realization of the principle of continuity of education not only of the youth but also of the entire adult population.

Together with general educational schools, a significant contribution to the attainment of universal compulsory secondary education is made by secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions, which have aims and tasks in common with secondary schools in the fulfillment of a provision made by the USSR Constitution of providing youth with universal compulsory education and training them for socially useful and

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productive labor. In 1980, as provided by the program for development of the Nonchernozem Zone, the training of qualified workers solely within the system of the RSFSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education has reached 120,000 persons a year. But the network of vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions was formed here without adequate consideration of the needs of the national economy for qualified cadres of agricultural production workers and middle-echelon specialists. Most of the zone's rayons do not have such educational institutions. For the purpose of rational distribution of vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions while taking into account the requirements of the economies of the zone's republics, oblasts and rayons for training of workers for agricultural production and of middle-echelon specialists, they must be improved. Let us examine certain possibilities of their further improvement.

In rayons of social-economic and cultural development of the first subzone, there was already provided in 1980 a significant volume of construction of public education facilities. Thus, for example, solely through the means of state capital investment more than 280,000 places have been made available. Output of qualified workers for agriculture in the system of vocational-technical schools has increased to a yearly 50,000. The USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education proposes that each administrative rayon have one rural vocational-technical school. Analysis of these secondary specialized educational institutions of this subzone shows that they do not provide for the training of a sufficient number of specialists for new sectors of the economy, that is, such persons as technicians for hydromelioration, mechanization and electrification of animal husbandry, construction and operation of motor highways and so forth. Calculations for middle-echelon cadres confirm the conclusion that this problem can be solved without an increase in the number of specialized educational institutions by opening in them new divisions for training middle-echelon specialists for the most needed agricultural vocations.

Certain measures have been specified for the further development of educational and training institutions in rural localities of the second subzone. Thus, the general growth of construction of public-education facilities in it during 1975-1980 with state capital investment comprised about 300,000 places. Local soviets plan to increase the output of qualified agricultural workers for this subzone within the system of vocational-technical schools to 60,000-65,000 annually. Calculations for the network of vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions up to 1990, based on a forecast of the RSFSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, show that it is necessary to increase here the number of rural vocational-technical schools to 2-3 per rayon; it would also be advisable to have on the base of each farm an educational course center for raising the class level of machine operators and animal-husbandry workers. Prospects for the development of the productive forces of the third subzone to 1990, aside from orientation toward development of natural wealth, propose in an agricultural oblast to take steps for increasing and expanding reindeer breeding, fishery and hunting operations. In accordance with this there will have to be built a network of vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions.

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The fulfillment of the entire complex of enumerated measures will contribute to the satisfaction of the requirements of the economy of each subzone and the Nonchernozem Zone as a whole for cadres of workers and second-echelon specialists.

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DEMOGRAPHY

LEGAL REGULATION OF DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES DISCUSSED

Moscow PRAVO I DEMOGRAFICHESKIY PROTSESSY V SSSR in Russian 1981 pp 1, 200, 30-35, 40-41, 48-49, 62-63, 65-67, 114-115

[Title page, table of contents, and selected passages from book "Law and Demographic Processes in the USSR" by Galina Il'inichna Litvinova, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 3,100 copies, 200 pages]

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Refinement of legislation, which developed broadly in connection with adoption of the new constitutions of the USSR and the republics, cannot be done without rigorous consideration of the demographic situation that has come about in both the USSR as a whole and in each particular Union and autonomous republic, oblast, and kray. Many legal norms that affect demographic processes were adopted 30-40 years ago when the demographic situation in the country was different, and they now need to be updated. Demographic correlations have not yet been fully reflected in legislation. Specifically, the relationships discovered by researchers between the level of the birthrate and satisfaction with housing conditions is still not fully considered by housing legislation.

Legal support for demographic policy presupposes the following:

- determination of the place of law in the system of other (nonlegal) measures to influence the demographic behavior of citizens; interdependence of legal methods of influence and others (economic, psychological, and the like);
- adequate reflection in the law of the requirements of optimal influence on demographic processes;
- a well-founded selection of concrete forms of legal enactments to influence particular demographic processes;
- the elimination of "gaps" in legal influence on specific demographic processes;
- as much as possible, giving nondemographic legal norms a demographic character;
- refining the forms of legal regulation (passing laws instead of adopting decrees and so on).

Consideration of these criteria by Soviet legislation will promote efficient demographic policy.

It should be kept in mind that the potential for legal (just as economic, medical, and the like) influence on demographic processes is not unlimited. For example, with respect to influencing the birth rate the law is not all-powerful, and this is even more true of the mortality rate. In the first stage, it appears, we can only speak of preventing a trend toward decline in the birth rate in certain regions and the growth of the mortality rate in certain age groups.

Legal influence on demographic processes may be either direct and planned (for example, banning abortions by law influences the level of the birth rate, while legislation opening up new regions to development and giving privileges to settlers there influence the direction and vigor of migratory streams) and indirect, mediated by nonlegal relationships, for example economic, psychological,

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and moral relationships.* It must be considered that this is an arbitrary division and that the realization and degree of effectiveness of legal norms depend on the level of sophistication, the extent of female labor, historical, ethnic, and moral factors, and the like. Sometimes these factors can nullify the impact of particular legal norms on the demographic behavior of the citizens, especially with respect to migration processes and the birth rate. Therefore, the degree of influence of a particular legal norm on a concrete demographic process cannot always be established with sufficient accuracy.

The effect of various legal norms on demographic processes is an interdependent and interrelated phenomenon, just as the demographic processes themselves are interdependent and interrelated. A change in the course of one process is usually reflected in the course of others, and steps aimed at improving certain demographic characteristics can have a negative effect on others. Thus, the active migratory flows of young people from the rural regions of the RSFSR to the cities help supply labor resources to fast-developing industry, and at the same time led to an "erosion" of the reproductive strata of the rural population.

It has been established that there are conflicts not only between the trend toward population concentration in large cities and changes in the age structure of the rural population, but also between other processes, in particular between the tendency toward maximum involvement of women in public production and the birth rate. The norms of constitutional, labor, and other fields of law which envision a guaranteed, equal right to labor and wages for men and women, protection of female labor with due regard for the distinctive characteristics of the female organism, labor and pension advantages for women, and the like helped draw women into public production and promoted comprehensive development of the individual woman. But the level of employment of women in the child-bearing ages in public production has an inverse effect on the level of the birth rate.

The existence of conflicts between trends in the development of demographic processes demands that any legal enactment intended to stimulate (or discourage) a particular demographic process be adopted with due regard for the goals and general lines of demographic policy of the Soviet State, so that the influence on the particular process promotes optimal development of the aggregate of all demographic processes.

The growing importance of demographic problems made it essential to work out a plan for population development as a constituent part of the plan of social development.

This pattern is reflected in the developmental trend of legislation on planning: in the transition from plans for development of the national economy to plans

* For example, the major advantages in tax policy and state purchases prices and the faster rates of economic, cultural, and material development that the Soviet State gave to certain Union republics to make the peoples more even in development were one of the reasons for the extremely low rate of migration of the rural population in these regions and caused a surplus of labor in the countryside while it was scarce in the cities.

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for economic and social development. "Under conditions of mature socialism," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes in the Accountability Report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, "the interdependence of economic progress with society's social-political and cultural progress is becoming closer and closer."⁴⁸

The problem of working out criteria for evaluating social and demographic development and devising ways to insure coordination and balance in the plan of demographic development of a republic as a part of the plans for economic and social development of the USSR is becoming a timely issue.

Working out the basic directions of demographic development and fixing them in law demands a clear orientation to the final impact: establishment of a communist type of population development. As D. I. Valentey observes, this concept covers many components, each of which must have optimal characteristics from the standpoint of the long-term interests of society.⁴⁹

Working out and implementing comprehensive, scientifically founded demographic policy presupposes taking interrelated steps at all levels of the state and social organism, and this cannot be done without resolving a number of organizational questions.

Thus, the questions of labor resources, including migration, are under the authority of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the labor committees of the Union republics; the questions of improving the status of women are in the jurisdiction of the standing commissions on questions of labor and everyday conditions for women of the Soviets of Peoples Deputies. The family divisions which have now been established in the executive committees of certain city Soviets are expected to play an important part in strengthening the family. Their working experience deserves generalization and broad dissemination. Public organizations can give more help in solving demographic problems; the potential of these organizations has not been fully used yet. The activities of all these organizations must be coordinated and subordinated to attaining basic demographic objectives.

The ministries and departments that manage economic development in their activities sometimes not only fail to consider the interests of demographic development, but act in conflict with them. For example, it is common knowledge that enterprises and departments whose activities are ultimately evaluated by volume of output produced do not have an interest in female employees who have three or more children, because this makes it more difficult to fulfill plan assignments since women with many children are absent from work for reasons of illness and child care more often than women with no children or one child. But the state and society as a whole, as already mentioned, do have an interest in wide distribution of families with three children.

There must be a single fully empowered state body to manage the development of a comprehensive demographic program and the conduct of demographic policy and to coordinate the work of all ministries, departments, and organizations that have any influence on demographic processes. Most countries today have such governmental bodies. They also exist in the socialist countries. It would seem

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wise to establish such a USSR-republic body at the USSR Council of Ministers and in the Councils Ministers of the Union republics, with a definition of its objectives, tasks, jurisdiction, and authority. This body could insure the development of the basic lines of demographic policy and its implementation and work out steps to bring the demographic characteristics of the population of different republics closer together, which would help strengthen the unity of the Soviet people.

The fact that the factors which influence particular demographic processes have not been adequately studied and the fact that they exist on many different levels and are interdependent require special caution and prudence in adopting legal norms that influence change in demographic processes. In this respect, the demographic legislation of the European socialist countries, especially laws adopted in the late 1960's and early 1970's to encourage a higher birth rate is of great theoretical and practical interest. During this time the birth rate in most of the European socialist countries rose. But we should realize that with a clearly defined trend toward decline in the birth rate even a stabilization of the level of birth can be viewed as a positive result.

Needless to say, the demographic legislation of the European socialist countries cannot be mechanically transferred to the USSR with its enormous population which differs sharply by demographic characteristics both on the regional and on the ethnic levels. At the same time, we must not overlook the existence of many common features in the nature and course of demographic processes, above all in the area of increasing the economy of population reproduction: because of the sharp decline in the mortality rate, natural population growth occurs with a lower birth rate. The existence of common features not only in the course of demographic processes in the USSR and the other European socialist countries but also in the effect of a number of factors which have caused particular changes in the demographic characteristics of the populations of these countries enhances the significance of the experience of demographic legislation in the European socialist countries and broadens the opportunities for using it with benefits in our country.

The precepts of Islamic law (the Shariat), which determine the family law of most of the Eastern countries and until the October Revolution also prevailed in the territory of Central Asia and parts of the Volga region, Caucasus, and Crimea, aim at maximum encouragement of large families. According to Islamic law women without children are the most important reason for divorce and for taking a second wife. Abortions and any limitations on birth are strictly prohibited. In its operation through the centuries Islamic law, by encouraging the birth of children, reinforced the tradition of large families which were supported by the belief that Allah himself takes care of children, who have come into the world by his will, and will provide them with food.

But Islamic law also contains rules that can lower the birth rate. This refers above all to polygamy. The Shariat permits Islamic men to have as many as four legal wives, and this does not count slave-concubines. Rich Islamic men have had dozens and even hundreds of concubines. Although the woman in a polygamist family has less work, which has a positive effect on her health and may be beneficial for reproduction, polygamy in general has a negative effect

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on the birth rate. The number of wives in a polygamous family usually increases as the husband grows older and his socioeconomic status improves. But men of middle and advanced age are less sexually active.* It should be observed that polygamy is not the predominant form of marriage in the Islamic countries. In Iran at the beginning of the 20th Century, for example, five percent of the population lived in polygamous families.⁸ Polygamy today is prohibited or restricted by special laws in many Islamic countries such as Pakistan and Turkey and exists chiefly in concealed form.

Islamic law has certain precepts which can restrict the birth rate even though they are not directly intended to do so. One of these is "Kaitarma," the right of parents to keep a married daughter in their own home until the bride-money for her has been fully paid. The "Kaitarma" period may be quite long.

Polyandry (having many husbands) as a form of marriage is much more unusual than polygamy. It was found in Tibet, chiefly among the impoverished strata of the population, and in the Himalayas and Southern India. The effect of polyandry on reproductive rate has not been carefully studied. In any case, there is no data which showed that the birth rate in regions where polyandry is found is higher than in neighboring regions. At the present time polyandry has given way to monogamy almost everywhere. In large part this was fostered by the institution of legal bans on destroying newborn daughters, which mitigated the existing disproportion between the sexes.

The widespread belief that the main reason for the decline in the birth rate the remote consequences of World War II is doubtful.²¹ This explanation for the decline in the birth rate is illogical, if for no other reason, because the birth rate in the last 20 years has become lower and lower, and if we were to tie its decline to the remote consequences of the war we would have to assume that the negative consequences of the war are becoming stronger with each decade of peace. Is there any need to show that this proposition is wrong? The hypothesis that the consequences of the war are the most important reason for the decline in the birth rate can divert attention from the search for the true causes of this phenomenon and eliminating or mitigating their effect. Moreover, if we analyze the impact of the remote consequences of the war on the level of the birth rate, their effect today is more beneficial than negative. In fact, during the 1970's the generation born in the so-called compensatory postwar period,** the period of the peak birth rate after the war, entered the child-bearing ages, in fact the ages of highest fertility (20-35 years). In other words, the most numerous generation was in the age of greatest fertility in the 1970's, which should have led to a growth in the birth rate. Considering this factor, the current level of the birth rate must be recognized as alarming.

* In certain cases polygamy can raise the birth rate by increasing the percentage of married women. Heavy losses of men as the result of war in some cases forces European peoples to resort to polygamy. In 1650, for example, after the Thirty Years' War in which many men died, the District Council of Nuremburg adopted a resolution permitting men to have two wives. See E. Westermarck, "The History of Human Marriage," London, 1925, Vol 3, p 25.

** It has been observed that the birth rate rises sharply after all major wars, which is the so-called compensatory period in which population is restored.

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This does not mean that we can deny the negative consequences of the war. They are enormous, but we should not today see them as the main cause of the complicated demographic situation.

The marriage rate, and through it the birth rate, depend on the ratio of men and women living in a particular region. The law is capable of effecting an improvement in this ratio. It has already been pointed out in the literature that demographic requirements are often disregarded in planning industrial enterprises. There appear "cities of girls" where female labor predominates at the enterprises and "cities of boys," with enterprises using chiefly male labor.* It would be desirable for legislation on the fundamentals of planning to provide for this aspect and for the law to contain a requirement of an optimal ratio between male and female labor in the community, city, or region.

The 12 September 1974 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Further Increasing Material Assistance to Poorly Supported Families with Children"⁴⁶ envisioned a monthly grant of 12 rubles a month per child to families where total per capita income was less than 50 rubles. This will unquestionably bring the material situation of large and small families closer together, play a large part in improving conditions for raising children, and possibly foster a rise in birthrate in certain families. But this applies mainly to large families.

Let us recall that the average wages of workers and employees in the USSR are more than 160 rubles a month.⁴⁷ The average wages in a family where the husband and wife work (almost all able-bodied women in childless and small families work) are 300 rubles a month. Therefore, a family which has one, two, or even three children will not receive a grant under this decree. Thus, this decree mainly improves the position of large families and will stimulate a further rise in the birth rate in precisely such families.**

In other words, existing legislation is in fact aimed at encouraging the maximum number of children in certain families, whereas the demographic situation in the country for a long time has dictated the need to direct it to insuring an optimal number of children in most families. Achievement of this goal will be promoted by carrying out the resolutions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU on institution of an outright grant for the first and second children and a significant increase in the grant for the third child. The amount of the grant, 100 rubles for the second and third children, is larger than the grants for other children in the order of birth.⁴⁸

In the contemporary world large families can hardly be the standard or even the norm encouraged by the state. In the opinion of demographers, with the decline

* Disproportions in the employed population by sex are especially pronounced in small and medium-sized cities. In the RSFSR, for example, there are 70 small and medium-sized cities with very high percentages of men in the labor force. See A. E. Kotlyar and S. Ya. Turchanova, "Zanyatost' Zhenshchin v Proizvodstve" [Employment of Women in Production], Moscow, 1975, p 120.

** The first year of operation of this decree showed that most of the money spent under it went to regions with high birth rates.

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in the mortality rate, especially for children, in the USSR and society's orientation toward full development of productive forces and comprehensive development of the human individual, the large family is becoming an outdated demographic type whose continuance cannot be successful and could hardly be desirable.⁴⁹ A woman burdened by 7-10 children cannot become actively involved in socialist production.* Raising children and caring for them demands a great deal of time. It is difficult to give children in a too-large family the opportunity for comprehensive development and upbringing. But the state is interested not just in the number of citizens, but also in their quality. The state does care about the kind of population growth and growth in labor force under discussion, whether the people are highly trained or not, highly mobile, and numerous other circumstances (including traditions of large families and language barriers) linked to a certain region.⁵⁰

Beginning from the tasks of optimizing demographic processes in the world in order to avert an ecological crisis and considering that too frequent births are harmful to the health of both the mother and child,⁵¹ in 1975 the U. N. Human Rights Committee adopted a resolution to add to the Declaration of Human Rights a restriction on human rights to reproduction because "the right of a baby to be born physically and mentally healthy outweighs the right of parents to reproduction."⁵²

The arguments and studies of demographers which have been cited illustrate once again the wisdom of using legal, economic, and other levers to encourage the optimal family with two or three children. It is precisely the birth of the second child, and especially the third child, that should be encouraged by maximum benefits and grants.

Because the birth rate in families with high incomes is frequently (but not always) lower than in families with low incomes, made demographers believe that raising family income by paying grants for children is hardly likely to raise the birth rate. But such arguments often confuse cause and effect. One frequently meets families today which put off having children or decide not to have another child in order to avoid a worsening of their material situation. Steps which bring the material situation of families with two and three children closer to those of families with no children or one child will unquestionably promote a rise in the birth rate in small families. The effectiveness of such legislation has been tested and confirmed by the experience of other countries, above all the European socialist countries.

When we are discussing giving material aid to families to raise children, of course, we must not overlook the fact that the Soviet state as a whole spends more than many other countries in the world to protect mother and child. The

* It appears that A. G. Vishnevskiy is correct when he writes: "How can a woman be free and equal when she is forced (objectively forced!) to devote 20 years of conscious life to pregnancies, birth, breast-feeding, and the like? The demographic revolution radically changes the entire life cycle of the woman, and thus creates the key material conditions for her complete and final social liberation." (See A. G. Vishnevskiy, "Demograficheskaya Revolyutsiya" [The Demographic Revolution], p 233).

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decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Steps to Strengthen State Aid to Families with Children" envisioned insuring all-out development of the system of nursery schools, daycare centers, extended-day schools and groups, Pioneer camps, and other summer institutions in the 11th and 12th five-year plans. The Soviet State assumes virtually all expenditures for construction and maintenance of children's preschool institutions, sanitariums for children, and Pioneer and other health camps for children. But as has been correctly noted in the literature, the question should be raised of restoring its paramount position in direct material aid to the family for maintenance of children. "This is not just a question of the prestige of the world's first socialist state," writes N. G. Yurkevich. "It is also a question of simple necessity, and at the same time fairness."⁵³ An increase in expenditures for public forms of family service is certainly necessary, but considering that public upbringing must be combined with family upbringing, expenditures by society should be increased in both directions, harmoniously complementing one another.

The strength of marriage and the reproductive goals of the family also depend significantly on provision with housing. The lack of housing and poorly organized housing create difficulties for the young family which many spouses did not experience before entering marriage. Fear of these difficulties is often a reason for refusing to marry, and the encounter with them often leads to disintegration of the family.

Housing conditions are important not only for deciding whether to get married, but also for deciding whether to have children. Sociological studies show that the paramount reason compelling spouses to decide not to have children or to postpone them is dissatisfaction with housing conditions. A study done in Moscow illustrates the relationship between the level of the birth rate and provision with housing. It showed that there are 29.7 children per 100 women of child-bearing age living in communal apartments; for women of the same age living in separate apartments there are 32.1 children per 100. In new residential areas of Moscow where most families live in separate apartments, there are 839 children per 1,000 families; in old residential areas where most of the families do not have separate apartments there are 476 children per 1,000 families.⁴

Injuries, including fatal injuries, are often the result of intoxication by alcohol. Improving legal steps to combat alcoholism are another possible way to influence the rate of decline in the mortality rate. Medical scientists believe that abuse of alcohol shortens life by 20 years. One out of three deaths from cardiovascular illness is caused by abuse of alcohol.¹⁵

Alcoholism leads to moral and social degradation of the individual. Drunkenness and the scandals that go with it are one of the main reasons that marriages break up. Practically all cases to terminate parental rights are occasioned by the drunkenness of the parents.¹⁶

In view of all these factors the state devotes great attention to measures to combat alcoholism, including legal measures. The Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union republics envision the possibility of mandatory

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treatment of chronic alcoholics (Article 36). This rule of USSR law has been included concretely in republic legislation. For example, a 1 March 1974 Ukase of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet entitled "Mandatory Treatment of Alcoholics" provides a procedure for mandatory treatment of persons who abuse alcoholic beverages.¹⁷ The Councils of Ministers of the USSR and the Union Republics have issued decrees that envision conditions for and the possibility of employing mandatory treatment of chronic alcoholics and procedures for sending them to preventive health institutions for treatment and labor indoctrination. Article 62 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and the corresponding articles of the criminal codes of other Union republics give courts the right to assign persons who abuse alcohol to mandatory treatment.

On 7 December 1979 the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree which urged the courts to make full use of the opportunities given them by law to combat drunkenness and alcoholism.¹⁸ It seems that it would be wise to modify the procedures for examination of persons suspected of abuse of alcohol, not restricting them to persons who have been in a medical sobering-up institution two or three times within a year.

One cannot disagree with V. N. Kudryavtsev and other participants in the round-table meeting of the journal SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO devoted to the social and legal problems of combatting drunkenness and alcoholism. They believe that we need a program of measures figured for the medium and long run to combat drunkenness and alcoholism with the emphasis on preventing these phenomena, especially among young people. According to data from medical examinations, 95 percent of the persons who abuse alcohol began drinking before the age of 15. It has been proposed that the Society to Combat Drunkenness and Alcoholism, which existed in our country in the 1920's, should be re-established. It could be very useful today as well, as the experience of Bulgaria and other socialist countries illustrates. It is possible to adopt local legal norms which institute "dry laws" in certain territories.¹⁹

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